2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*aronyi Juok*) and fit incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every high-chief has his assistant (*tyel kwome*), who exercises authority as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their communities, and we believe all these offices to be in the main hereditary, though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of international fame—is the royal capital, *fa reth* ("the place of the king"), from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Banholzer told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyakang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tatuga (Doleib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fa reth* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyadwai and Yur Adodit ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyadwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Malakal and Walajok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Aturwic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the old practice. Mr. Heasty writes that unless the king takes a

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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553 one at his first dance, and later on any occasion that he may wish to celebrate. Names are commemorated in poetry.[1]

845 Twins are welcomed and spoken of as *nuole juok*, literally "children of God"; the first is called Angar, the second Tian. The next child born after twins is called Ñabol.

593 605 Children are brought up in the house of their father. There is no segregation of the sexes, brother and sister grow up together and may play together, and a boy may beat his sisters if he considers them unruly. The chosen companions of boys appear to be their *uwa* (brothers and ortho-cousins) and of girls their *nyiwa* (sisters and ortho-cousins). Cousins, the children of two brothers or two sisters, may play together in the same way as brothers and sisters, but as a hamlet constitutes the habitation of a group with male descent the children of the brothers are likely to see most of each other when young. If married brothers and sisters happen to live near one another their children—who would be *una*, *nyina*, *uwaja*, and *nywaja* to each other—will have opportunities of meeting, and it seemed that there was no restriction on those of opposite sexes playing together. As women go to live in the *gol* of their husbands, the children of two sisters are unlikely to see much of each other, so that the *uma nyima* relationship is unlikely to be an intimate one.

604 There is a certain definite relationship between children and their mother's brother (*na*). It is the mother's brother who usually gives a boy his first spear; he also has a right to some of the cattle given as bride-wealth for his sister's daughter, and might perhaps influence her in her choice of a husband. A girl, considered particularly good-looking, married a Dinka, and it was said that her father and *na* persuaded her to reject her Shilluk suitors and accept the Dinka because he could give many more cattle than the Shilluk. Though [428] the *na* always takes a portion of his sister's daughter's bride-wealth, inheritance being from the father to the son he leaves nothing to his sister's children; his own sons, however, inherit his lien on the bride-wealth of the *nyaka*, i.e. of their own *nywaja* (father's sister's daughter). If a man is well off he may give his sister's son some cattle [431] when he wants to get married, but this is a gift, not an obligation. At a funeral the principal duties fall on the son, but at the final sacrifice the sister's son must sacrifice a sheep or a bull, according to his means.

The *waja* (father's sister) always contributes two head of cattle [583]

[1] Hofmayr, op. cit., 277.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*539 584 She says: "But why do you not go into the village, to the old people?" Then he goes into the village, and talks with the old people. They say: "We have nothing to say against it." Now he returns home, and brings a sheep, as a present for the old people. The old people say: "We accept your proposal, go, [583] and bring the cattle!" The man goes, and procures the cattle, he returns with it to the old people, and they say: "Go, and bring the rest of the dowry!" And the rest of the dowry is brought, the part for the people in the village of *539 God.[1] Now beer is strained, and the people are called. The ox of dowry is 585 brought by all the people; the people go, and fetch the ox, and a spear, which is (a present) for the man who held fast the rope of the ox. The people go into the village. And the people dance. The bridegroom is put into a hut together with the arranger of the marriage; the bride stays with her family together with the woman-arranger of the marriage. While the people are still dancing, the bridegroom is led out by his friends, the bride also is brought out by her friends. All the people continue dancing, and a cow is killed, which is eaten by the people; and they drink plenty of beer; and they eat bread, bread which is mixed with butter. There are many people present.

At last the people scatter, and go home. The bridegroom is now instructed with regard to his wife (that is, he is told how much cattle etc. he has still to [583] give). They say to him: "Bring goods, bring giraffe-tails, and skin-cloths, and bracelets for tying."

And (the next day) food (beer, and different foods prepared of dura) is brought; it is carried into the village of the bridegroom. The men who carry it, sit down outside in the bush before going into the village. The people of [482 the bridegroom now bring a goat into the bush (to the carriers, as a present); after that the carriers come into the village, but they refuse to go into the yard 431] of the bridegroom. Now hoes are brought forth, and are thrown on the ground (as a present for the carriers), and they go into the yard; they stand still in the yard with their food on their head, and again refuse to put their loads on the ground. So once more hoes are brought, and thrown down before them. Now they put their loads down.

The bride also, when she is brought by her friends into the home of the bridegroom, remains outside the yard. And a goat is led out (to those waiting outside), and then she enters the yard. They (she and her friends) sit down in the yard. The ear of the goat is cut off, and after that they enter the hut. — But the girl refuses to lie down; and metal ornaments are brought, which are to cause her to lie down, and then she lies down. The next morning a goat is brought, the goat is killed. The women dig for mud which is used in building; and the enclosure in besmeared with mud (is repaired). When they have

[1] for the deceased ancestors.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The natives weave their hair into fantastic shapes. If a person has very fine hair, he puts a few thorns in it to keep off the evil eye. Should the evil eye fall on his hair, his head would break out in sores.

When a person has his body well oiled or covered with some fine ashes, he is very likely to have the evil eye cast on him. To escape that misfortune he takes a cucumber like pod from a wild plant, and takes out the seeds. Some of the seeds are put on the temples, and some on the neck, and others on the tip of the shoulder blade, or the entire fruit may be worn suspended from the neck.

When butter is boiled to clarify it, the work is usually done at night so that the evil eye may not be cast on it.

The Shilluks will not say that they are in good circumstances, lest it be heard by some envious person, and he should cast the evil eye on their possessions. When a rich man is asked in regard to his property, he usually says I have one or two cows, but they are very poor cows.

The parents of a very fine looking child do not like to let people see it for fear someone will cast the evil eye on it, and the parent is very angry when someone comments on the good appearance of the child. Should the child be taken sick, the parents call on the person who made the remark, and demand that he pay the fine required when a person is killed. The accused usually holds out, and a compromise is affected. He brings a sheep, and one of its ears is cut off. The sheep then is a witness against the man, and by doing that, he assumes the responsibility for the child. If it dies, he pays the fine as though he had killed it. Even if the child reaches maturity and dies, the man is responsible and must pay the fine.

Frequently people have hard knots in their flesh. These are really stones that have been put there by someone with the evil eye. The swellings do not disappear.

The Shilluks have a custom that when a person is threshing his grain, they go to beg from him. Sometimes they go in such numbers that the man has very little left for himself, but he does not dare to refuse for fear someone in the party may cast the evil eye on him. He gets even by going to beg from some other person.

They give a few warnings as to conduct when with a person who has the evil eye.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

484 562 624 future expeditions of the same party she will be chief. In the village she has the right to judge cases that are strictly between women.

431 425 484 626 [535 593] A man may refuse to give an ox, making the excuse that he has nothing to give. Then the women will mutter, saying, "He kills us by making us stand in the hot sun." They seem to think he is cheating them. The man's wife may intercede on their behalf. She will put on her husband's cloth, put a rek about her neck, anoints her body with oil, and then takes the chief's spear, and dances among the women. For such a display the chief will usually relent, and tell his young men to bring out the ox. He may be very churlish, and refuse to give them what they desire. They depart, muttering curses on him and his family. If in a short time sickness should occur in his family it is attributed to the ill-[753 will of these women. He sends a messenger to call them. They come 755] and get the ox. He then tells them of the sickness in his family, and the women order ashes to be brought. The women fill their hands with the ashes. They then pray after this manner, "You are God. We were refused an ox by this chief. He now has sickness. We are no longer angry at him. Permit him to escape." Next they spit on the ashes they hold in their hands, and then sprinkle them all over the members of his household. The women then depart, and the patient recovers.

431 425 [788] When the women go to a chief and he gives them an ox, they sprinkle ashes about his house as a blessing. The ox is taken to their village, and it may be killed immediately, though it is more likely to be kept for a time. When the animal is killed the brisket is given to the old men of the village. The old women take the rump, and the younger women divide the remainder of the meat.

425 556 431 A man is glad to have the women come to beg from him, even when he refuses to give them what they desire. It is a great compliment to have the women come, as it shows that his fame has spread abroad as a rich and generous man. Then, too, the ceremony is such as to feed the vanity of the man singled out for the honour. The women usually rush [533] up to the house shouting and singing his praises. They sing songs about his bravery, and tell of his virtues, but the chorus of their song usually is: "Brother, lead out that ox."

After a chief has given an ox, the women go away saying that he is a 425 fine man, and a great chief. The women seem to demand a great deal. 431 Once, in a case observed, the ox was given. The women did not watch

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed. 425 431

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and gave them the ox. [622]

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The women might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not permitted to go on these trips. 425 484 593 [843]

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for the animal in the prestige it gives him. 425 556 535

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. When a man threshes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion. 476 462 241

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing floor. They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he 735 241

535 881 leave the dancing ground. Within a few minutes the village is clear of all guests, those who are unable to stand being swept along in the rush.

881 431 [553] Before dancing for the first time the initiate is usually presented with two spears by his father. The sons of rich men are presented with a bull (*Wath Owono*) as well.[8] This bull is treated with great care and affection by the young warrior and he is given a new name by his age-mates—taken from the colour of the bull and they alone may call him so. Theoretically the bull is kept throughout his life, a new [583] one of similar colour and markings being substituted when it dies. It is never given as bride-wealth. The initiates then visit their relatives 881 574 in the settlement and after a short period of travel return home. In the past these visits were probably on a wider scale and according to Hofmayer "after the dance it is the custom for the Shilluk initiates [114 171] to lead a nomadic life for a time, traversing the country from one end to the other." This statement is probably an exaggeration, but a period of wandering visits is common among African peoples before final reintegration into the community in adult status.

535 764 881 561 At the *Cong Bul*, initiates are introduced to their new privileges together, but the rest of the warriors are not drawn up in age-sets. At the "*Kwogo*" and "*Yok*," which are funeral ceremonies, the male Shilluk are organized according to their respective age-sets. There are few other occasions when the age-set system functions at all.

476 561 Among the Shilluk the more arduous processes of cultivation are carried out communally. A man will invite his neighbours and relatives to help him in his fields and will provide merissa for them afterwards. The helpers are not necessarily his age-mates and it does not appear

[178] 8. The Shilluk say that the custom is dying out and that few fathers have bulls to spare. In any case the youth will take the name of one of his father's bulls. The *Wath Owono* is a source of great pride to its owner and songs are composed about it which are sung for the benefit of girls.

An approximate translation of the song of Ajak, an inhabitant of the Zeraf mouth is as follows:

"I have a grey bull, a great bull,
I am going to Golbaign to buy a bell,
A bell for the bull that lives in
My fathers byre."

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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does not count. It has been suggested that the prohibition of grass fires may spring from this prohibition upon building; it is necessary, if the building season is to start late, to preserve the grass for roofing. Out of respect for Nyikang it is also forbidden for the Shilluk to indulge in inter-sectional fighting, or possibly from fear of his wrath.

Several other prohibitions govern the *reth's* own behaviour: he may not sit upon the ambatch mattress, favoured by the Shilluk, until his installation, and his movements are considerably restricted. There is great importance attached to watercourses by the Shilluk, and until his installation the *reth* found himself unable to cross west of the big *khor* beside Fanyikang, which joins the Nile just downstream of the shrine of Nyikang.

To the north of Fashoda, he was "afraid of going too close to Nyikang". In fact he found any suggestion that he should travel north of Mal near Detwok uncomfortable. The importance attaching to *khors* is not confined to the two at Fanyikang and Mal. Whenever the new *reth* comes to a *khor*, before crossing it, he must step over a sheep, held prostrate in the bed, before he can cross. This sheep must be brought from the nearest village, but if a death has recently occurred in the village, or no one can be found to lend a sheep a sheaf of grass will do instead.

PART III—THE INSTALLATION OF ANEI KUR.

There are various preliminaries to the installation of the *reth* by Nyikang. Many materials necessary for the ceremonies have to be collected, and apparatus has to be made.

The most important is the expedition to *pothe manyo* (or raiding country), and northwards to the country traditionally conquered, though more probably merely raided, by Dak, the son of Nyikang. Two small sections are responsible for this embassy. The subsection of Akwobai in Kwom (Gol Nyikang), and the small section of Abwor in Mwomo (Gol Dhiang), are responsible for obtaining silver and cloth from the north, and as they go north they solicit gifts from Shilluk villages by the way.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

to lift. However the delay was quite simply explained. Nyikang was not ready. A hitch had occurred in finding the cloth for his body. (A new effigy of Nyikang is made for each *reth*, and on the death of a *reth* the old effigy is destroyed). Another delay was caused by the Ororo messengers sent from Fashoda to Akurwa to say that all was ready. They dawdled on the way. 643 778

On the 26th February "Nyikang" and "Dak" started on their way. First they must beat the bounds of Shilluk country proper, and they went to Moro, some five miles north of Kaka market. The procession was first observed in the section of "Thorr" just south of Kaka.

Nyikang and Dak are carried by men of the Kwanyikwom clan who live at Akurwa. They are surrounded by the youths of the Kwanyikwom carrying whips to drive away the inquisitive or profane. As Nyikang passes through a section of the Shilluk country, the men of the section escort him to their borders. Anyone who is beaten by the whips of the Kwanyikwom is said to be held to ransom until he pays a fine of a goat. There are various offences for which Nyikang penalizes people on the way. Nyikang's image is made from ostrich feathers and bamboo. It is therefore sacrilege for a Shilluk to be seen with an ostrich feather in his hair or carrying bamboo. The ritual of burial must be completed for all who have recently died. Nyikang must not pass anything unclean. In Nyikang's presence Shilluk must not present a warlike appearance. A man carrying a spear may not have a shield as well, and a man with a shield is only allowed a millet stalk. Nyikang advances with his son Dak at a loping trot of about 6 m.p.h. escorted by the Kwanyikwom and the men of the section through which he is passing. As he approaches a village the people dash out as if to ward him off, but quickly over-powered they soon join the procession. It is usual for gifts of a sheep or a goat to be presented to or exacted by Nyikang, and it was noticeable how all small stock and fowls were either shut up or driven away from the vicinity of Nyikang, for Nyikang has a right to anything he fancies. As Nyikang proceeds with Dak his son beside him, the escort chants [614] 643 688 778 [764] 643 778 [481] [431]

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

devotees. By some means the spirit of the king is supposed to enter into people. They sometimes say that he is taken by the wind king. The spirit of any of the kings who did not die may enter a person, but the greater part profess to be acting for Nikawng, though Dok has a numerous following. People thus possessed are said to be servants or slaves of the particular king claiming their allegiance.

The beginning of the possession is indicated by hysteria. When a person is first taken he walks about with his head swaying from side to side, and his eyes shut. Often they look as though they are going to fall, but they are always able to maintain their balance. In the night they wander about or else ward off sleep by singing songs. When a person first shows these signs, they send for a recognized servant of that king. The spirit is able to tell the people what king he represents.

The servant of the king treats the case. He makes a fire, and puts a vessel of oil on it. The oil is permitted to boil, and then the patient is taken near the fire. A bead is put on the forehead of the person to be treated. The person in charge of the case puts one hand on the victims head. With the other hand he seizes his hand, and thrusts it into the boiling oil or butter. If the patient is burned and cries out, and tries to run away, the possession is said to be a light case, and curable. In that case the dung of a dog is brought, and burned. The patient is then put under a cloth, and the ashes of the dog's dung, and fire are also put under the covering. The spirit is then said to be driven out. If that patient has a second attack, the spirit cannot be driven off again. If the patient is not burned by the oil, the possession is said to be complete, and measures are taken to initiate him into the order of the servants of the king. Two sheep are killed, and their skins are prepared to be worn by the patient. Beads are fastened on the forehead, and about the ankle, and a string of ostrich egg shell beads is put about the neck. A spear is then placed in the patient's hand, and boiling oil or butter is placed on his forehead. The king is then revealed by hysterical actions on the part of the new servant of the king. The neighbours give presents of ornaments to the new servant of the king and the person who had charge of the case gives him a gourd. A sheep is also given, and its right ear is cut off, and beads are fastened to it. The ear is then worn. The servant of the king in charge of the case gets a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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dowry. The models are hung up in front of the hut and the ceremony is concluded with beer-drinking.

About a month later the child may be taken home to be shown to its father. The mother carrying the infant is accompanied by three or four girl friends and the old woman who attended her at the confinement. The father and his male relatives and friends inspect the baby outside the hut to satisfy themselves that it shows no deformity or any other abnormality. If such unhappily were the case, the child would be enclosed together with a live sheep in a basket and thrown into the Nile. When the father is satisfied that the child is normal, a goat or sheep is killed, the meat eaten at the ensuing feast and the skin scraped and softened to serve as a sleeping mat for the baby. Beer is prepared and the whole village invited to come to the party. Those who come, however, are expected to bring some small gifts of money, beads, bracelets and the like. These are the perquisites of the midwife, the beer makers and the girls who escorted the mother and child back to her home.

There are no special ceremonies for the birth of children after the first born, and the mother may or may not return to her father's village for her confinements as she pleases. There is however a little feast to celebrate the birth and, as before, a sheep or goat is killed and the skin used as the infant's sleeping mat.

During a woman's pregnancy neither she nor her husband is permitted to visit anyone who is sick. They are considered to be unlucky and their visit to a sick person would surely result in his death. The most that is allowed is that they may stand at the fence surrounding the house where the sick person is and enquire after him.

With reference to the custom of the young wife leaving her husband's home for her father's for the birth of her first child, it must be mentioned that the wives of the king, not merely on the occasion of their first born, but for all subsequent confinements, must leave Fashoda. They do not go to their former home, however, but to the village of some chief at a considerable distance from the capital. The child that is